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304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed [775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so 562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because [753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They 776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing [753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they 178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

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of disease. They came into the world in this way. Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire. No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones became demons which originated some kinds of illnesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their sticks and got flints which they struck together. These made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.

A STONE KNIFE

After they had finished their smoke and were now about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and those which were thrown into the sea turned themselves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine which should live upon dry land and which should be banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused them to have a race and so settle the matter. They assembled at the appointed time and place, where they strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race, and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

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father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king 773
over all his tribe."

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in 825
common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings.

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some 539
firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; more- [753]
over, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off him. So the men met together and made many

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alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor.

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in.

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards.

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

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be wise to pass remarks them or ask any questions, so I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter. 825 527

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it. 753

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they 262

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the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *iśke-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women. 825 [776]

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But 757 753

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757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

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## CHAPTER XXXIX

### WARRING UPON TREES, AND THE "WILD DANCE"

An English lady, who had been a nurse during the late most lamentable World War, told me that when stationed in Dublin with some troops, an Irish woman came to see the doctors there, as she was very ill. Her case was diagnosed in hospital, the result being that, as a malignant internal growth was found, she was told that unless she was operated on at a very early date and the evil taken away, she could only hope to live a very short time. This, of course, rather upset her, but she said she would not consent to any operation taking place. "The growth," she said, "was given me by God, and if it is His will that I shall suffer and die on account of it, I shall be quite content to do so. Nothing that He has given me shall be taken away, but I will carry all to Heaven with me. But be mutilated I will not." And so she soon died and was buried.

"East is," certainly, "East, and West is West." No one would ever get an Ainu to believe that God sends sickness of any kind, except on very special occasions. They all believe that, as a general rule, it comes from demons. So these people are constantly waging war with the demons of disease in various way.

Mr. Arrow was one of my oldest Ainu friends. He was a very good man and much respected by his own people. I knew him intimately for more than forty years. One day he became very ill and his doctors told him that he could not hope to live many days longer. Just before his death, he called his relations

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753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal
776 more in my friend's request than appears on the sur-
824 face; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

WOÖI; WOÖI; WOÖI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOÖI, WOÖI, WOÖI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

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## CHAPTER XL

### ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he returned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my district, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." "How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

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753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-
ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption).
755 Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men
should meet together and go to the villages up and
down the rivers, and take from each hut a small por-
tion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-
parsnip. When they have secured these, they should
bring them to an appointed place, where the men should
sit down and pray. After the prayer they should
carry all to the seashore, then reverently make feti-
shes and place them by their side. When this has been
done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye
demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon
us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay
attention! We have with one accord met together
and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various
kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have
afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take
their departure. We present these articles of food
for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine.
O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays,
have the demons of disease taken away from our vil-
lages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony per-
formed, the sicknesses will speedily take their de-
parture."

826 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he
787 volunteered the following lore. "When one has pal-
755 pitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to
hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sick-
ness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation
comes, he should at once rub the place six times and
say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now
brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should
take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into
six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place."
Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that
one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *ereshu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among such I found the feather-columbine, the common celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand!

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a nail very hot and held it on the offending member. This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
753 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
164 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that
252 upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
●753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 757 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

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'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion.

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless.

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge.

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# IX

## EXORCISM

### (*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

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(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

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committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram kore*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

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sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised,

## EXORCISM

practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.
[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

## DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
●753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

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dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

*Imu*. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

/767 cont./

895 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.
[752 The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./ When the mother has
844 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time
853 her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent
[292] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also
[298] smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all
114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these
[163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of
164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned
177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in
753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/769 cont./

843 753 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.

2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 833 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-

[845] born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 833 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason

[834] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 171 [843] Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have

[548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some